

THE MATERIAL CULTURE

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the pitcher (S. *jarro*) and the saucer (S. *cazuela*) are more European than Indian and are mentioned by the Spanish names only.

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Minor elements in the culinary paraphernalia are the shallow wooden boat-shaped mixing bowl (S. *batea*), the wooden spoon (S. *batedor*), and the small, rectangular, handled fan (S. *aventador*) with which the fire is blown up. For picking fruit from trees a cage-like picker of cane, on the end of a long pole, is employed. This is called (S.) *canastilla* or (N.) *acatecomatl*.

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Other house furnishings vary considerably with the wealth and education of the owner. Characteristically, however, the bed (S. *cama*; N. *tlapechtlí*) is a mat (S. *petate*; N. *petlatl*) spread on the ground or on a low wooden platform. Often another aboriginal form of bed is used: splints of Mexican *bambú* (S. *otate*; N. *ohlatl*) are stretched in both directions across a framework of low posts driven in the ground. Tables are common but often absent in poorer houses. The backed chair is not rare, but much commoner is the low, backless bench. Although occasionally reminiscent of the pre-Columbian *icpalli*, it nevertheless is generally European in form. No adult sleeps in a hammock, but babies are usually cradled in a flat, swinging framework which is homemade. This resembles other Indian cradle-frames, but bears the Taino name *hamaca*.

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Certain domestic accessories of European origin have become firmly associated with the aboriginal elements and are always found in the house. Chief among these are the steel knife, the small iron kerosene flare

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reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children. 853
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Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm." 854

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations. Confirmation takes place at about eight years. 857
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It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par- 582
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* There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderos* who know. They fix them [*discomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them." 842

* No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience. [864]

LITERACY AND LITERATURE

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Before turning to the group of ephemeral songs, mention should be made of the *mañanitas*. These are songs of serenade, sung by the party of friends and relatives who, at dawn, come to the house of a friend, whose birthday it is, bringing gifts of flowers and food. This custom is general throughout Mexico, and many of the accompanying songs are traditional. They are private ritual songs as contrasted with the songs of public ritual just described; and they are secular rather than sacred. They are of one general type. Reference is made to the coming of morning; the natal day of the person celebrated is hailed; the gifts are announced. The one most commonly used is widely known in Mexico,¹ but there is at least one local *mañanita* in Nahuatl.²

The only lullaby encountered in Tepoztlán is the *rorro* song,³ which is ritually used when the figure of

¹ Words and music are published in *Mexican Folkways*, III, No. 2 (1917), 101. *Mañanitas* of this type are published in Gamio, *op. cit.*, II, 399, and in *Mexican Folkways*, II, No. 2 (1926), 27.

² This is as follows:

Xi-iza, tlahtlachia, yotlanex,
Awake, open thy eyes, now it is dawn,
xihualohua, xihualohua, xicnelique noanimantzin,
come, come, to receive my soul,
ihuan moyello ihuancento macrochilli
and my heart and a branch of flowers
nancuahuetzin timitahuquilitz ipan nin huri
very pretty which I bring thee on this great
maternal. Ancan yenia; xipaqui, xihuataca.
day [of thy santo]. Now I go; be happy, smile.

³ This is in general use in Mexico. Words and music are printed in *Mexican Folkways*, II, No. 5 (1926), 42. In a large collection of Peruvian folk songs not a single lullaby was encountered (R. and M. d'Harcourt, *La musique des Incas et ses survivances*, p. 169).

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- 533 Jesus is put to bed on Christmas Eve, and is also
 • [854] sometimes used by mothers in singing to their children.

In turning from the traditional songs to the ephemeral songs, one passes from the sacred to the secular, from the anonymous contributions to ritual to songs composed and sung by individuals for the sake of pleasure and of art. But, because songs of this type
 [182] are constantly being made and sung and are then displaced by others, their popularity is determined by the run of current interest and they tend to reflect the interests and experiences of the group. For this reason they are of particular significance.

The ephemeral songs are of the type generally known as *corridos*,¹ a word generally translated "ballads" (lit., "that which is current"). But, at least in Tepoztlán, *corrido* properly designates a particular musical form; the *bola*, the *danza*, are other musical forms accompanying the general ballad type of song.

These songs are sung at almost any secular social gathering. Where guests are gathered to celebrate a
 [527] birthday, outside the church wall at the *fiesta* of a
 [796] *santo*, and on any casual occasion when men come
 [517] socially together, as on street corners at night after work is done, these songs are sung. Everyone knows some of these songs; any man may sing them. But certain men have pre-eminence as singers, and on im-

¹ See K. A. Porter, art., "Corridos"; also Dr. Atl, *Las artes populares en Mexico* (Librería "Cultura," 1921), pp. 13 ff., 119-29. *Corridos* are published in *Mexican Folkways*, and many are obtainable on ordinary commercial phonograph records.

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earth. Most of the younger people of the village view beds as a desirable luxury. 511
Pillows, mattresses, pillowcases, sheets, and bedspreads are found in only a few 513
Tepoztecan homes. A wool serape is all the bedding known to the majority of the
population.

Sleeping arrangements vary somewhat from family to family, but the most wide- 513
spread custom is for the parents to share their *petate* with the children of about
two to six years of age who sleep between them. This is also true when a bed is
used. The nursing baby sleeps on the other side, next to the mother. Cradles are 854
used only during the day. Older children sleep apart, the girls sharing one *petate*
and the boys another. In homes with more than one room the parents and small
children sleep in one room and the older children in the other; in few homes are 511
there enough rooms to permit the separation of older brothers and sisters. Some-
times parents are embarrassed to lie down together in the presence of their chil-
dren, and the mother sleeps with the daughters while the father sleeps with the sons.

Most homes have a makeshift altar in the main room of the house. This is usually 353
a table on which are placed candles, flowers, incense burners, and images of saints 778
These images are highly prized and occupy a prominent place in the home. Some
families have large images of Jesus, Mary, or one of the saints, which have been in 782
the family for many generations. Religious pictures are hung on the wall over the
table, and frequently there are tissue paper decorations arranged around the table.
(See Fig. 39.)

Wooden boxes and one or two wooden chests are used for storage of clothing. 352
blankets, and other personal property. Extra clothing in regular use is hung on



Fig. 39. A domestic altar.

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531 The quality of constriction is also reflected in artistic expression and creativeness, both of which are limited. There are practically no handicrafts, no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Although sewing, knitting, crocheting, and embroidery are becoming more widespread as a result of the influence of the cultural missions, the patterns used are purchased in Cuernavaca stores or copied from style magazines, and this work can hardly be called creative.

535 Music and the dance are very poorly developed. There are no traditional dances for men and women. The only traditional step used is the *brinco*, literally "the jump," which is a short jumping or skipping step done repeatedly without variation, to the accompaniment of a simple and monotonous melody played over and over. Only men are permitted to dance this step, and they do so singly or arm in arm with others, around the plaza in a large circle.

535 Modern social dancing has been learned by some of the more acculturated young people, and dances are held about once a week in the plaza under the uncertain light of a Coleman gasoline lamp. Social dancing has not become popular; most parents still refuse to permit their daughters to attend these dances, and boys have difficulty finding partners. By and large, the dancing lacks skill and grace and the dances seem dreary affairs. The school teaches a few traditional dances from other parts of Mexico, and these are occasionally performed in public by the school children. Most children, however, do not participate or have occasion to use these dances later. In short, the dance is not an important part of Tepoztecan life.

533 Musical expression consists primarily of singing typical regional songs to the accompaniment of the guitar. The local manner of singing is characterized by loudness and shouting, with little variation of style. These songs are sung exclusively by unmarried youths. Groups of boys or girls may serenade a friend or relative at dawn with the *mañanita*, or birthday songs, which are popular throughout Mexico. Perhaps the best singing occurs in the church where a selected choir of women and children sing under the direction of the *cantor*. New types of songs are being introduced by the school but are sung only by children; popular songs of the city, heard on the radio, are sung by girls in the privacy of their homes.

There are a number of bands of musicians who perform at local fiestas, dances, and at the more elegant weddings, baptisms, and funerals. These bands have a broader repertory than the singers, and play well-known music of Mexico and other nations. In musical skill, however, they compare unfavorably with the village guitar players and with musicians in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

538 There is very little storytelling, and unlike villages in Spain, there is no rich lore of proverbs or sayings. Also, mothers generally do not sing to their children.

291 The clothing of the villagers is somewhat drab. The bright colors found in some parts of Mexico—the red skirts of Cherán, the red seed necklaces of the Tarascan women, the flamboyant serapes and *rebozos* of the south, the colorful pottery of Puebla and Oaxaca—are missing in Tepoztlán. Bright colors, particularly in clothing, are not in accord with Tepoztecan ideas of propriety, and only young girls are now beginning to wear them. Older women wear dull colored dresses,

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from his father. A man who fathers children with many women is placed under no social pressure to support his offspring or to marry the mother of any of them. Even in the case of a daughter's elopement, an act made worse by its rebellious flouting of parental authority, forgiveness is usually forthcoming after a lapse of time.

Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep their children "innocent," or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened." The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. Coeducation in the school violated this basic attitude and was bitterly opposed by parents. Girls are unprepared for menstruation, which comes as a shock to most of them; girls will rarely confide in their mothers about menstruation or other intimate subjects.

In most inter-personal situations, Tepoztecsans do not express affection in a demonstrative fashion and generally avoid bodily contact. Perhaps the major exception to this occurs in the mother-child relationship during the nursing period, when the child is held, fondled, and sometimes kissed. In courtship there is an increasing amount of demonstrativeness and physical contact, but kissing is still not customary.

Tepoztecsans learned the Spanish custom of kissing the hand of the priest and of parents and godparents, but it never came easily to them and is now disappearing. The shaking of hands in greeting and departure and the typical Mexican double embrace are not generally practised in Tepoztlán and occur only among politicians and some of the more citified families. When Tepoztecsans are drunk, this restraint is frequently relaxed, and male companions will walk arm in arm, and men may hug and even kiss their children and wives in the privacy of their homes.

It must be apparent from the preceding pages that Tepoztecsans are not, on the whole, a very affectionate people and that means of expressing affection are limited. Normally, the Tepoztecans show his affection for his children by hard work, good habits, and by providing them with the necessities of life; the child expresses his affection for his parents by obedience, respect, and diligence. Other inter-personal relations reveal good will or affection in so far as they fulfill the required reciprocal behavior. If these formal or practical qualities exist between people, Tepoztecsans consider that they have a satisfactory relation with each other, and little else is demanded.

Between parents and children there is now a noticeable tendency, particularly among the younger generation, to express affection and to seek it in terms of greater demonstration of personal interest in each other, in their wants and needs and general welfare over and above life's bare necessities. This interest may be expressed by greater giving of food, clothing, toys, sweets, gifts, and now, by a willingness to make sacrifices for an education. Tepoztecsans, particularly men,

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ing more from her, they show hostility when she fails them; receiving more from her, they feel dependent upon her. In general, the children are more emotionally involved with the mother than with the father. The word "mother" flung in anger during a quarrel is a strong insult and usually results in fighting and violence.

The father maintains his position of respect by being withdrawn from the children. Traditionally the Tepoztecan father does not carry infants except in emergencies, nor does he play with them. Children are sharply reprimanded for climbing on their father's lap or for grabbing his leg. Infants soon learn not to reach out to their fathers or expect much attention from them.

When four- or five-year-olds run to meet their father on his return from the fields, they are not permitted to jump on him but are taught to walk demurely at his side. As the child, particularly the son, gets older, the father becomes more receptive, but he does not permit physical contact, nor does he spend more time at home with the boy. The traditional way for a father to express his affection is to buy the child little gifts, give him pennies, or take him to the fields or to a fiesta. If the father is very pleased at the birth of a child, he will generally express his pleasure by purchasing as many protective amulets as he can afford.

The mother has more ways of demonstrating her affection for a child than has the father. She may kiss, fondle, or carry a nursing child as much as she wishes and may continue to do so until he is five. Generally, the mother avoids demonstrative affection for children after weaning. Because of the mother's position as server, dispenser of food, nurse, etc., she can express her affection by means of all of these. Giving more attention and pennies for sweets, serving larger portions of food, sewing more clothing, worrying over illness or accident, devoting more time to curing, and buying needed school supplies are all common means by which mothers express their affection for a child. Mothers also show their affection by not informing the father of the child's misdeeds or by intervening when the father is punishing the child. Such intervention and deception, although infuriating to the father, is viewed as "natural" in a mother.

A child is always punished for flouting the authority of his parents and for unwillingness to work. Behavior which does not involve these has a good chance of being indulged, particularly if backed up by a show of temper, tears, whining, begging, or demanding. If a child wants something badly enough he generally gets it. Even in families in which children are beaten with severity and worked hard, they may get whatever it is they want merely because they "want it."

Parents, despite their authoritarianism, can be intimidated by a strong-willed child. Although children in Tepoztlán show obedience early, they are not completely submissive. The ways in which they can express their own tastes and desires with impunity or reward has made for a certain development of the ego. Children sometimes display a self-centered, demanding attitude in connection with food, clothing, money to spend, going to school or fiestas, and, more recently, time for play. The variety we find in both punishment and indulgence stems from differences in interpretation as to when parental authority is or is not involved. For some,

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There is much variety in the treatment and care of infants and children in Tepoztlán because of individual differences and because of the presence of groups representing different cultural and economic levels. The most obvious contrasting practices in child care are those of the more acculturated families and those with only minimal contacts with the outside. The distinction between these two groups is not always clear-cut. Sometimes the mother represents one group and the father the other, reflecting the state of transition which pervades the village and complicates the discussion of customs in no small measure. Frequently there is no difference in customs as such, but rather in the practice of them. 177
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INFANCY

At the birth of a child there is no celebration, and generally little fuss is made. When the first-born is a son, there are usually expressions of pleasure on the part of the father and relatives. But many mothers describe the arrival of their children as causing "neither joy nor argument," and frequently complain of their husband's indifference at the birth of a child. Men do, in fact, maintain an attitude of reserve but often respond to a new arrival by working harder. More modern men do not conceal pleasure at the birth of a child, and behave much the way new fathers do in our society. Gifts are not traditionally given to the child, although some of the more acculturated do this and invite friends in to drink and to eat *mole*. 851

It is believed that the first weeks of life are dangerous, for the infant is particularly susceptible to the "evil eye," "bad humors," and *los aires*. Non-relatives are not encouraged to see a newborn child, though the more modern families permit it after a few days. Babies sleep behind a curtain and are protected from "bad humors" with *ruda* and chile which are placed in the form of a cross beneath the pillow or mattress of the cradle, and by a few drops of iodine on their clothing. Some families hang a gallstone, taken from the gall bladder of a bull, around the child's wrist to protect him from the "evil eye." This is no longer done in some of the better educated families. After one month, a centavo may be hung on a string around the child's neck to protect him from whooping cough. Some tie on a little 751
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751 bag of chile seed as protection from other diseases. Babies in all families wear little
 854 caps for seven months to protect them from *los aires* or, as the more modern mothers say, from cold drafts.

753 Anyone coming in from the street must "cool" for awhile before going to see
 854 the baby because they may be "hot" and make the child ill. If the father of the child has committed adultery and then comes home "hot," he must be particularly careful to "cool," lest he give the child an eye inflammation. Sometimes jealous wives will accuse adulterous husbands of selfishness on the ground that they are endangering the infant's health. Children are rarely taken into the street during the first four months, or until their caps are removed, for fear of *los aires*. More modern families take their children out earlier.

[774] Every child is believed to have a *tonal* or *sombra*, something akin to a guardian spirit which protects him from illness. A weak child has a weak *tonal*; a robust child has a powerful *tonal*. A child's illness is sometimes attributed to the fact that his *tonal* has left his body and must be called back if he is to be cured. In such cases [755] of spirit-loss, a special *curandero* is called in to "lay the shadow." Incense is burned while the *curandero* cures the child.

851 Babies are usually baptized within the first week after birth. An infant who is
 608 expected to die is baptized on the same day, otherwise most parents prefer the third
 [848] day. Children born out of wedlock or under abnormal circumstances may not be baptized until many months or even one or two years later. Godparents of baptism are selected before the birth of the child. While the couple is young, their parents, generally the husband's parents, select the godparents, who are usually though not necessarily a married couple. Later, the husband alone makes the selection. The husband's mother or some older woman in the family goes to the house of the prospective godfather and makes the formal request, "Would you be so kind as to take a child to be baptized?" If the answer is in the affirmative she thanks them and says that she will return to let them know when the baptism will be. Sometimes the person refuses the request, pleading that he is too old or ill or cannot undertake new obligations, in which case he may suggest the name of a relative.¹ When the grandmother making the request returns, she carries two branches of white flowers and two four-ounce candles. On the day of the baptism, the child, his father, and grandmother meet the godparents inside the church. The godmother holds the child during the baptism and pays the priest's fee, which is from five to ten pesos. At the door of the church the godparents distribute small coins to all the children who happen to be gathered there, and every one returns to his respective home. On the following day the child's family brings a gift usually consisting of bread, sugar, chocolate, and milk to the godparents.

¹ Theoretically, an invitation to become godparent is a high token of esteem and respect, and the acceptance of it creates a deep obligation. However, it is an honor which is frequently rejected. There are many stories of parents choosing a godfather for selfish motives. For example, many parents are said to seek a childless couple who have some property, in the hope that their child will inherit it at the death of the godparents.

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551 which the child is most frequently called. Many names are shortened for daily use, and nicknames are common for boys. The children take the surname of the father as their own. For example, when Juan Gómez marries Carlota Villamar, their son Francisco may sign his name as Francisco Gómez Villamar or just Francisco Gómez.²

291 The parents alone, or sometimes with the help of the grandparents, prepare the
854 necessary clothing for the new baby. In former days, when a girl married at twelve or thirteen, the burden of preparation for the first child fell upon her mother-in-law or mother who usually made baby clothes out of old clothing. Although this is still true in the majority of cases, some more acculturated young wives prepare new baby clothes when they become pregnant for the first time. Later children are generally dressed in the used clothing of the first child. Used clothing is given away only to intimate relatives or to poor people who beg; to offer such clothing to friends or distant relatives would offend them.

[735] Infants are dressed in cotton shirts and *pañales* or diapers of rags tied around
[578] the waist with a string. This string is often tied so tightly as to leave a deep red welt. The clothing of infants up to three months is generally warmed before being put on. Dresses are put on girls, and pants on boys, at about four months. Young infants are kept warm by a blanket; older ones, particularly in better-to-do families, by woolen sweaters. Girls' ears are pierced usually about one week after birth, but often later, by a competent female. Red, green, or black silk thread is drawn through the ears until earrings are provided.

[304] Infants are expected to be kept fairly clean. Most babies up to one year are bathed
515 every three days, but some young mothers bathe their first-born son every day,
854 sometimes even twice a day if the infant is restless. They are bathed in warm water during the warmest part of the day. Most mothers are careful to keep the soap out of the baby's eyes, and babies seem to enjoy their baths. After the bath they are rubbed with alcohol to warm them or are dusted with talcum and are dressed in clean clothing.

854 *Pañales* are changed whenever soiled or only once a day, depending upon the mother. In general, first-born or favorite children are changed more often, as are the children of the more educated families. Other women tend to add dry cloths over the wet ones and make a complete change only when there is a bowel movement. The most *dejada* or careless mothers reuse soiled rags without washing them and may not clean the child for a long time after a bowel movement. For the most part, however, babies are kept clean and do not suffer unduly from rashes or skin irritations caused by diapers.

[164] [103] ² It is interesting to note that as late as 1886, most people in Tepoztlán still followed the Indian custom of identifying people by the name of their house site, in Náhuatl. A census of the village taken at this date shows most of the names as names of house sites, with the first name in Spanish preceding it. The following are some examples of how the names appear in this census, Juan Iudro Tlatelpa, Mariano Fuschio Tecuapan, María Tomasa Tecuapan, María Victoriano Aynopce, María Luisa Tejoac, etc. Note that the surnames are in Náhuatl. These "surnames" were really the names of the house sites, or *stijos*.

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Infants are traditionally swaddled in a sheet or cotton blanket with the arms bound tightly at their sides during nursing and sleeping. It is said that this is done to prevent the sleeping child from waking himself with a sudden movement of the hands which might cause *espanto*. Swaddling also serves to prevent the child from touching his genitals and from touching the mother's breast during nursing. "for the breast is not a toy." Swaddling, however, is viewed primarily as an important part of child training. 854 853 [753]

There is a widespread belief, particularly among the older women, that swaddling and binding the arms of the child will prevent him from "turning out bad" when he is older. Binding is an effort to make children more passive and quiet. Many families in the smaller barrios tie the sleeping child's wrists and ankles to keep him from moving under the swaddling blanket. This is done up to the time he walks, in order to train him to sleep quietly, for there is a belief that a quiet sleep is a good sleep. As girls get older, they are trained to sleep quietly and modestly, with their legs together. 854 [513]

It is believed that children who are bound will not touch things, will not be active or demanding, and will be less trouble to the mother. When an older child is mischievous or overactive, it is said that his mother did not bind his arms long enough. Also, when an older boy attempts to embrace a girl she might say, "What, didn't they bind you when you were a child?" Older women say it is more effective to keep a child bound for one year, but most women today do it until the child no longer permits it, or from six to nine months, depending upon how active the child is. More acculturated mothers often bind their children for only three months "out of pity," much to the annoyance of their mothers-in-law. One grandmother complained that she must always be watching her two-year-old grandson because he touches everything and wants to keep moving about. She blamed this on the fact that his mother swaddled him for only three months. A few women do not swaddle their infants at all. Old women frequently comment that infants and children are much more active today than they were a generation ago.

During the day, babies sleep in a shallow wooden cradle which hangs from the ceiling by a rope. The sleeping baby's face is covered with a *rebozo* or cloth to protect him from *los aires* and to keep out light and flies. The swaddled child is safer in the cradle, since swaddling prevents movements which might cause him to fall over the low sides. As the child gets older and more active he must be tied in or watched constantly because of the danger of falling out. Most cradles can be raised, to safeguard the child from animals wandering into the house, or lowered to prevent a high fall. Babies may be rocked to sleep in the cradle, but most of the time they fall asleep in the mother's arms while nursing and are then placed in the cradle. [757] [825]

Babies sleep with their mothers at night, on a *petate* on the floor or on a *tepecero*. If the mother is accustomed to sleeping in a bed, the child will be heavily wrapped at night to prevent wetting the mattress. Cases of mothers smothering babies during sleep are not rare, and usually the mother is blamed for carelessness. An un

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854 usual case occurred in which a mother smothered her first two infants. She was severely beaten by her husband and scolded by her mother-in-law and all her relatives. When she gave birth to a third child everyone warned her to sleep lightly and quietly so as not to hurt the child, and her husband said that if the same thing happened he would accuse her of murder. Now a few better-to-do and more acculturated families have their infants sleep in cribs for the first three months, as a precautionary measure.

853 Nursing is not considered a pleasurable activity by most Tepoztecan women. Not one of the many mothers we interviewed enjoyed nursing, and some expressed strong dislike for it. Some complained that it was painful, that nursing made them thin or ill, and that they could not go anywhere without the child. Nursing is looked upon as of the utmost importance to the child and to the mother, since [842] it is believed by many that nursing delays conception. When nursing in the daytime the mother is usually seated, holding the child in her arms. During the first six months, mothers frequently lie down to nurse. Despite the expressed belief that it is improper for the baby to touch the mother's breasts, it is quite common to see babies doing so when they are no longer swaddled, with the mothers making no attempt to prevent this. Also, expressed attitudes to the contrary, mothers appear to enjoy caressing and playing with infants while they nurse. Nursing is best for mother and child during the first three months when the mother is well rested and has little work to do. As the infant gets older and is given over to a child nurse, so that the mother can resume her duties, she becomes more passive and distracted during nursing and may pay little attention to the baby. However, the baby is given the breast whenever he cries and is permitted to nurse as long as he wishes. The breast is used as a pacifier, and almost all nursing children are put to sleep this way. Until the child is weaned he is almost never denied the breast.

[262] Solid foods are introduced to the child at varying ages. Some mothers do not give their children any solid food other than bread or tortillas until the end of the first year, or until the first two teeth have appeared. Most mothers give babies tastes of foods when they begin to grab for things, generally at about the age of six months. The most common foods given to nursing children are bread, tortilla, bean soup, rice, noodle soup, fruit, and coffee. A few better-to-do families of more education give small children eggs, *atole* cooked with milk, and soup cooked with meat.

854 Infants are not permitted to cry, and every effort is made to quiet them. There is an attitude that a crying child is hungry, neglected, or ill, and many husbands scold their wives and get angry when much crying occurs. Women are usually more careful to stop a child's crying when their husbands are at home. Infants are sometimes spanked or frightened to make them stop crying.

854 Children who cry a great deal are often described as greedy. It is said that they will be poor when they grow up because they are crying for bread. If a crying baby 824 is not consoled by the breast, the leaf of the *kokochiaton*, or *dormidera*,² which

² *Namora poldica*.

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closes when touched, is sometimes placed under the child's pillow to make him stop crying and go to sleep. Sometimes the leaf of the *sapote blanco* may also be used. When a small child cries because he is *chincual*, or irritated in the rectum, the small berries of the *tokeachichi*⁴ are put into the rectum to stop the crying. If a child is restless and sleepless because of diarrhea, his abdomen and buttocks are rubbed with hot tallow, into which has been mixed the powdered flower of the *cempasochitl*, and then wrapped in a hot cloth. 854 824 [157]

Children are, for the most part, not hurried in their development. A healthy child is expected to walk at about one year and to talk at about two years. If the child does not walk by that time, some parents rub his leg and calf muscles with earth warmed by the sun, to remove the "cold" from his legs. More acculturated women may help their children learn to walk by placing a tash under the arms for support or by putting a toy before them. Children are only mildly encouraged to speak, by repeating words to them. There is little correction of childlike errors in speech, such as substituting "y" for "r" or omitting "s," or misplacing syllables, so that errors persist until the child is five or six years of age. If a child cannot speak by the time he is three or four, a church key may be borrowed and turned in the child's mouth to "unlock" it. It is believed by many that the fingernails of a child should not be cut until he begins to speak, because the palate will fall and the child will be mute. To prevent children from scratching themselves with their long nails, some mothers put little mittens on their hands. When teeth are late in coming, the gums may be rubbed with a grasshopper's leg until the gums bleed. This is an old practice and is no longer known by many of the younger people. It is also believed that a child's hair should not be cut before one year, or the child will become ill. 856 [155] [155] [825] [755] [302]

Most mothers prefer a quiet child to an active one and do not encourage children to be independent. It is considered careless and neglectful to permit children to crawl on the floor or in the dirt, and few mothers put their infants down for more than a moment. This attitude is in part due to the fact that children who crawl are more troublesome and need watching, and in part because there is usually no clean, safe place in which a child may crawl. Inside the house or in the patio there is always danger from insects and animals. Women point out that infants who are allowed to crawl about unobserved almost always suffer from chronic diarrhea, worms, and intestinal diseases. Mothers who have no one to help them often put their small children into a large box while they do their work. In the past a busy mother tied her child to a stake and let him play on a *petate*, but this is no longer done. 854 [866] [164]

All infants in Tepoztlán are carried almost every waking moment up to the time they begin to walk. Children are carried a great deal even after they can walk and not infrequently until they are three and four years old. In Tepoztlán, children are not cradled or slung in the *rebozo*, as in some parts of Mexico, but are held in [171]

⁴ *Solanum nigrum*.

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[735] the left arm with one end of the *rebozo* tightly tucked around the child's body and the other end brought around the mother's shoulders and also tucked under the child. This makes the child snug and takes some of his weight off the mother's arm. Tepoztecans regard carrying a child on the back as primitive and associate it with poverty, because a poor woman needs both hands free to work. Most children are quiet, passive, and content as long as they are being carried. The child's arms are free if he is past swaddling age, but his ability to move is relatively limited. Many mothers say that as long as there is someone to carry the child they prefer him to be carried, otherwise he gets dirty, touches things, and demands the mother's attention.

[857] The majority of mothers have someone to assist them in taking care of their small children. The assistant may be an older child, a grandmother, a niece, the daughter of a neighbor, or a young girl hired for the purpose. Most often the assistant is an older brother or sister, who may also be a small child. The practice of giving over the infant, from the age of four months on, to a child-nurse is almost universal in Tepoztlán, and infants early come into contact with people other than the mother.

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857 Under the best conditions, the infant is cared for by the oldest daughter, who may be thirteen years of age or over and who has had experience in the care of children. This sister often is an adequate mother substitute, and a close, affectionate relationship may develop between the girl and the infant. But frequently the infant is given over to the care of an eight- or nine-year-old, or one even younger, who sometimes resents the role of nurse. Sometimes children, particularly boys, run off into the street when they are told to take care of the baby. The child-nurse is expected to carry the baby about, usually in the patio and sometimes in the street. The baby may not be taken far away, in case he cries and wants to nurse. If the baby is hurt or becomes ill, the child-nurse is blamed and often punished.

For example, a seven-year-old girl was taking care of her seven-month-old brother while the mother went to the plaza. The baby awoke from sleep and began to cry. The little girl took him out in the street to divert him but neglected to cover him well. That night the baby had a fever, and six days later he died of pneumonia. The mother blamed the girl for the death of the baby but did not punish her because "she had only wanted to keep the baby from crying." But the little girl cried a great deal because of the things her mother had said to her. A large number of children, particularly girls, receive severe punishment because of accidents which occur while they are taking care of younger brothers and sisters.

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858 A first-born or favorite child, or a child in a more acculturated family, often receives different treatment than other children. In addition to more solicitous, indulgent, and affectionate care, these children are unsaddled earlier, not carried as much after they can walk, and are permitted more freedom to walk and play where they wish. They are followed about by their grandmother, nurse, or even their father, or some other indulgent member of the family, and carefully watched. They are often allowed to play with many objects, usually forbidden; get dirty with-

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out being scolded; have more opportunities to exercise initiative; make choices; and develop their individuality. Such children also receives rattles, balls, dolls, wagons, etc., which the majority of small children in Tepoztlán do without. One of the wealthier families bought a toy automobile with pedals for a favorite grandchild, but large expenditures such as this are extremely rare. Even in poor families, there is indulgence toward the favorite child. In one very poor family, for example, the oldest daughter had no textbook for school because her mother had permitted the baby brother, a favorite child, to tear it up. This type of indulgence is unusual, because most Tepoztecan families are careful not to permit children to damage property.

There is little preoccupation with toilet training, and there is no conventional method or set time to accomplish it. There is almost no effort made to control urination during the first two years. If an infant tends to urinate too frequently, it is believed that the spleen is "cold" and should be warmed by an application of unguent of *alca* and hot tallow. Bathing the child in the *temascal* is another form of treatment.

Although expressions of disgust at having to clean up bowel movements are frequent, these do not appear to be related to any deep-seated repulsion. It is the rare mother who is persistent or methodical in training her children early in bowel control. Only two informants displayed any compulsion concerning toilet training and followed a rigid procedure with their children from the age of six months. It is the more acculturated mothers who give earlier and consistent attention to toilet training.

Most mothers take their children to the corral with them two or three times a day when the children are able to walk well. Before that time, children are scolded when they soil themselves and "are called 'little pig,' so that they will be ashamed." By the time children are sixteen months or two years of age, many mothers begin to spank them hard enough to make them cry for doing their "necessities" in the wrong place. At two, some children ask to have their pants removed and can go to the corral alone. Some are able to clean themselves with a stone or leaf or paper at this age. When a child is able to tie and untie his pants, usually by four or five, he is able to go independently. After age four, children are no longer permitted to accompany their mothers to the corral.

There is a tendency for mothers to be more lenient with boys, especially favorites, than with girls in toilet training, with the result that girls are trained earlier. They are spanked and scolded more consistently and harshly, and are required to be less demanding of assistance. Boys between the ages of two and five are occasionally seen playing in the patio naked from the waist down, but more "correct" people consider it very improper to permit boys to play without pants.

Infancy ends with weaning. A child who is nursed for less than two years is generally considered to be deprived. Most mothers nurse their infants until they know that they are again pregnant, which may not be until the fifth month after conception. It is a widespread belief that it is harmful to the child to nurse while

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Fig. 58. Child nurses.

177 physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely
872 organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs,
524 religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running
and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between
alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common
features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competi-
tion, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exer-
tion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys
and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played
with enthusiasm.¹

159 The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school,
857 and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The
872 following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme
883 and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost
no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

¹ See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by
Tepotecan children.

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The great amount of attention given the infant is primarily for the purpose of limiting and protecting him rather than stimulating him. He is not allowed to explore the world about him, to crawl, to touch many objects, and, when older, to ask too many questions. In general, much concern is felt for the safety of the infant, and the belief that infants are delicate is amply reinforced by the high mortality rate. Most infants wear several amulets to ward off illness, the sleeping child's face is covered to protect him from *los aires*, visitors are not encouraged to look at or hold the infant, and children are not taken out into the street more than is necessary. 155 854

The same basic principles apply in the training of children from about two to five, with emphasis upon obedience and respect for elders. After a rather abrupt weaning, the child becomes dependent upon older brothers and sisters, or a mother substitute. The illnesses which generally accompany weaning are interpreted to mean that the child is jealous of the new baby, reflecting the sibling rivalry found in many families. Children of this age are usually required to play within the patio: it is not uncommon to see children of three or four being carried, and many are not yet toilet trained. Children are controlled by means of scolding, frightening, shaming, and physical punishment. On the other hand, the young child, especially a boy or a favorite, is indulged in some ways, permitting a greater amount of ego development. Temper tantrums, whims, and complaints against older siblings are often rewarded by adults. After age five, responsibility and work are gradually increased, generally in proportion to the age and physical strength of the child. From this time on, through youth and even marriage, as long as the child lives under the parental roof, he is dependent upon the parents and subject to their authority. 155 [861] [865]

By and large, this type of child training adequately prepares children for adult life in this community. But there are some points of conflict and inconsistencies between theory and practice in the culture. Perhaps the primary area of conflict is in the roles of men and women and in the relations between the sexes. On the whole, men are under much greater pressure than women; they experience more discontinuity in the transition from childhood to adulthood and more contradiction between their ideal and actual social roles. Although boys are more favored than girls and have in general, more opportunities for ego development, their early training is not conducive to the development of inner strength and ability to dominate, which are required by the ideals of a patriarchal society. We have seen that frequently husbands are only nominally the head of the household, and that they rely upon fear to maintain authority. As men grow older, and as their sexual powers and ability to work decline, their position of dominance is more difficult to maintain. Furthermore, their older wives and grown-up children are more independent and not so easily controlled, and older men receive little social recognition and have little power in the community. It is interesting to note that in regard to favored position, the life cycle of men and women takes an opposite course: Men in early life are in a comparatively favored position, but as they grow older they are weighed down by life situations; women begin with less freedom, lower aspiration levels, and earlier 183 562 155

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paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. About half of these were for *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of the *Readers Digest*; others were for such publications as *Life*, *La Granja*, *La Tierra*, *La Sevilla*. Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books, but many children read comics. [177 204 875]

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower rate. [177 556]

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the *huipil*. Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures. Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamisa*. [177 84 262 291 853]

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born, and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study. [177 855 882]

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual. More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation or abandonment. [58 591 462 58 156]

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group [571]